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HUMAN RESOURCES

RAISA GORBACHEVA DISSERTATION
ON LIFE OF KOLKHOZ PEASANTRY

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HUMAN RESOURCES
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ON LIFE OF KOLKHOZ PEASANTRY

Moscow FORMIROVANIYE NOVYKH CHERT BYTA KOLKHOZNOGO KRESTYANSTVA
(PO MATERIALAM SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYKH ISSLEDOVANIYI V STAVROPOLSKOM
KRAYU) in Russian 1967 pp 1-24

[Dissertation for degree of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences by
R. M. Gorbacheva]

[Text] Defense of the dissertation to take place at
the Moscow Order of the Red Banner for Labor State Pedagogical
Institute imeni V. I. Lenin in April 1967

The communist transformation of everyday life is an important part of the process concerned with the establishment of a communist socio-economic formation. It is closely associated with a change in and the development of socialist social relationships and their gradual development into communist relationships.

This is why the Communist Party of the Soviet Union views comprehensive improvements in the living conditions of workers as one of the principal tasks concerned with building a communist society in our country.*

Over the past few years, a number of works dedicated especially to the problems of everyday life have appeared in philosophical literature: candidate dissertations (A. S. Lysakova, E. I. Matkhanova, I. Rakhimov, V. G. Sinitsyn, S. D. Tankayev, K. N. Khabibullin and A. Khashimov); scientific articles (N. A. Aitov, M. I. Lifanov, V. S. Markov, V. G. Sinitsyn and others), popular science brochures (G. Gerodnik, V. N. Kolbanovskiy, V. G. Sinitsyn and N. D. Shimin). Independent

* See "Programma Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1962, pp 195-214. "Materialy XXIII s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 23d CPSU Congress], Moscow 1966, pp 57-63, 192, 228, 256-264

sections of a number of recently published manuals and books have been dedicated to a study of these problems. In them, everyday life is viewed as a special category of historic materialism (A. G. Spirkin "Kurs marksistskoy filosofii" [Course in Marxist Philosophy], Moscow, 1963; "Osnovy nauchnogo kommunizma" [Principles of Scientific Communism], Moscow, 1966; "Sotsializm i kommunizm. Stroitel'stvo kommunizma i razvitiye obshchestvennykh otnosheniy" [Socialism and Communism. Building of Communism and the Development of Social Relationships], Moscow, 1966 and others)

Nevertheless, the important sections in this sphere of social reality and among them the problems of everyday peasant life still have not been studied adequately. As a rule, the problems of everyday life in modern kolkhoz peasantry are being studied in philosophical literature only during the course of examining other problems and particularly when analyzing the process of removing class distinctions, eliminating the substantial differences existing between the city and countryside, carrying out the cultural revolution in the USSR and also in the program for a general study of the problems of everyday life. The only exception in this regard is the dissertation work by S. D. Tankayev entitled "Some Regularities in the Formation of Communist Everyday Life in the Kazakh Countryside," specially dedicated to everyday life in the kolkhoz countryside.

Knowledge of the true phenomena and processes occurring in everyday life in the kolkhoz countryside is of considerable importance for understanding the dialectics involved in the formation of communist everyday life throughout the country and also the process of eliminating the differences between the working class and the peasantry, overcoming the remnants of actual inequality between males and females and the formation of a new spiritual aspect in the peasants.

Using as an example the kolkhozes in Stavropol Kray, an attempt is made in the present dissertation to study the everyday life of the peasantry during this modern stage. The author has not undertaken to illuminate in a comprehensive manner the process which led to this new mode of life for the peasants. He views the chief goal of his study as that of obtaining answers to the following questions: what are the principal features and trends in the development of everyday life in the kolkhoz countryside, what is the essence of the complicated and contradictory nature of new developments in the everyday life of the kolkhoz peasantry, what are the possible methods for resolving them and, finally, to what degree are family-domestic relationships influenced by socio-economic conditions?

Stavropol Kray is of great interest as an object for a social study of the kolkhoz countryside, since it is a developed and traditional region of agricultural production. Here the results of socio-economic changes carried out in the countryside during the years devoted to building socialism are manifested to the greatest degree.

During the course of studying the everyday life of kolkhoz members use was made of various means and methods for carrying out a specific sociological study.

One of the principal methods employed in the study is the method of analyzing official statistical materials, the current archives of the kray party committee, the executive committee of the kray's soviet of workers' deputies and the kray's komsomol committee and also the public documentation of some kolkhozes and institutes and village soviets, on the territory of which agricultural artels are located.

In the interest of carrying out a direct study of various aspects and phenomena of domestic relationships at a number of kolkhozes in the kray (Pobeda in Sovetskiy Rayon, Rossiya in Novoaleksandrovskiy Rayon, Kaz'minskiy and imeni V. I. Lenin in Kochubeyevskiy Rayon, Rodina in Petrovskiy Rayon and Temmolesskiy in Shpakovskiy Rayon), extensive use was made of such methods of sociological analysis as the method of active observation, the questionnaire method and the interview method.

For a more complete definition of the nature of the changes taking place in the everyday life of kolkhoz members and for a correct evaluation of them, a study was undertaken on materials dealing with peasant life in pre-revolutionary Stavropol Kray. The principal sources of information on the past were documents obtained from the kray's state archives, some published research works and also stories and recollections of the peasants themselves.

In our opinion, the use of various means and methods for carrying out the study ensured the development of sufficiently representative data, thus making it possible to draw definite conclusions on the peculiarities of the daily tenor of life among the modern kolkhoz peasantry.

In carrying out the study, the author was guided by the theoretical statutes of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the decisions handed down during party congresses and plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and also by documents of the Soviet Government.

The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters and conclusions. In the introduction, the selection of the theme is substantiated, a review of literature is provided and the tasks and method for carrying out the study are explained. Here the object of the study is described and the essence of the concept of everyday life explained.

In the first chapter--"The Birth of New Material Forms of Everyday Life. Principal Trends for Further Developing and Improving Them" -- the material-economic aspect of everyday life for the kolkhoz peasantry is studied. It is shown that under the conditions found in the kolkhoz peasantry, the material culture of everyday peasant life has already undergone qualitative changes and yet this process of further reform is still taking place at the present time.

Data on the consumption structure of kolkhoz families and appropriate data from a budgetary inspection of peasant families during the pre-revolutionary period are analyzed in this chapter.

The results of the analysis reveal that the range of requirements of a peasant family has changed substantially and been expanded considerably. In the past, the material requirements of a peasant family were defined mainly on the basis of production and economic needs. However, today priority consideration is being given to the diverse personal interests of the members of kolkhoz families.

A comparison of the data from a budgetary inspection of kolkhoz families against the data from similar studies of worker families reveals the presence of many common features in the character and structure of consumption for workers and kolkhoz members and this once again underscores a lack of contrast and the existence only of the well known differences in the living conditions of modern kolkhoz peasantry and the working class.

Using specific data, it was shown in this work that the material status of kolkhoz members shows a tendency to improve. From 1953 to 1965, the total income of a kolkhoz family increased by 60.5 percent and the average payment per man-day at kolkhozes throughout the kray increased by more than twofold and amounted to 3 rubles and 26 kopecks in 1965. Changes took place in the sources of income for a peasant family. Work in the public economy became the foundation for the well-being of these families. According to data obtained from a random inspection of kolkhoz families throughout the kray, the income obtained from a collective farm and the state in the form of wages constituted 72 percent of a family's total income in 1965.

The kolkhoz system has destroyed social injustice, wherein material blessings were placed at the disposal not of the producers of them but rather of a small group of large-scale proprietors. But the socialist reconstruction of the kolkhoz countryside is not completely eliminating inequality in the private consumption of various groups of kolkhoz members.

Material support for a kolkhoz family is conditioned by its numerical composition, the number of working members in it, the professions and skills of the latter and also by the size and character of the private plot economy.

For example, the importance of such a factor as the profession or skill of a working member of a family becomes more understandable when one takes into account the average annual wages at kolkhozes throughout the kray in 1965: for workers performing unskilled labor--400-600 rubles, for machine operators, builders, shepherds, calfmaids, milkmaids, pig-tenders and cow-keepers--1,000-1,400 rubles and for agricultural specialists this wage as a rule exceeded 1,500 rubles.

The definite differences in the income amounts of kolkhoz families are conditioned by the existing peculiarities in the kolkhoz system: wages are determined not only by the degree of participation by members of an

artel in social production, but also by the overall income amounts of the particular collective farm. In Stavropol Kray, particularly during 1964, the average payment for 1 man-day at 30 kolkhozes amounted to from 2-3 rubles, at 107 kolkhozes--from 3-4 rubles and at 6 kolkhozes--more than 4 rubles.

In this dissertation, the author analyzes a considerable amount of specific data on the development of a network of trade, public catering and domestic services enterprises, growth in domestic services and goods turnover in the kray's rural areas and also the materials obtained from an extensive questionnaire interrogation of residents of the village of Otkaznyy*, during which the degree of use of public domestic services enterprises was ascertained. As a result, the conclusion is drawn that a typical feature of everyday life in today's kolkhoz countryside is the increasing role being played by public forms for satisfying the daily and diverse material requirements of kolkhoz members.

Based upon statistical and actual material, the true ratio of the levels for developing the public forms for everyday life in the kolkhoz countryside and in city areas is revealed in the dissertation.

Analysis reveals that for every 10,000 members of the population in cities and worker settlements throughout the kray there are 7.19 domestic services enterprises of an industrial and 4.66 of a non-industrial nature, 2.5 barber shops, 11.9 public catering enterprises and in rural areas there are respectively: 4.54 and 3.87 domestic services enterprises, 1.4 barber shops and 5.7 public catering enterprises.

The actual degree of the above lag is even more considerable for the following reasons. First of all, the domestic services, public catering and trade enterprises and children's institutes in cities surpass by several times the capabilities of similar enterprises and institutes operating in rural areas and thus they perform a considerably greater volume of services.

Secondly, there are 3,119 villages, stations, farmsteads and other populated points located within the kray's territory. This means that under present conditions there is one sewing studio for 14 populated points, a workshop for the repair and mending of footwear for 14, a public catering enterprises for 4, baths or showers for 15, a barbershop for 16, a workshop for the repair of metal products and domestic appliances for 28, a photography studio for 35, a workshop for the repair and construction of dwellings upon orders from the population for 124 and a workshop for the repair and manufacturing of furniture for 260 populated points.

The territorial dispersion of populated points, their remoteness from enterprises in the sphere of services and the absence of stable communications between many villages owing to a lack of good roads and a shortage of suitable transport vehicles tend to deprive a considerable portion of the population of the opportunities for utilizing domestic services on a permanent basis.

* The Pebeda Kolkhoz in Sovetskiy Ray is located in the village of Otkaznyy.

Thirdly, the operational effectiveness of active rural enterprises and institutes in the sphere of services is being considerably as a result of their not being adequately staffed with skilled personnel and also because of the low level of mechanization of production processes. This is raising the cost of the services being rendered and it is resulting in low quality completion of orders.

As a result of tremendous lag in the development of social life in the rural areas, the average volume of services per resident in the rural areas in 1965 amounted to 3 rubles and 46 kopecks compared to 17 rubles and 42 kopecks in the kray's city districts.

In evaluating all of these aspects, the author draws a conclusion concerning the need for accelerating the establishment of social forms for everyday life in the kolkhoz countryside and he concentrates attention on more active participation by the kolkhozes in this work. The need is substantiated for rapidly carrying out work aimed at determining the promising rural populated points and preparing the general plans for building the latter. This will make it possible to organize planned activities in connection with improving services for rural residents.

The author considers the creation in the rural areas of powerful contractual construction organizations, equipped with modern equipment and having a developed construction base at its disposal, to be an urgent task and a most important condition for the reorganization of everyday life in the rural areas.

A reorganization of domestic conditions in the modern kolkhoz countryside makes it necessary to achieve a considerable improvement in the training of personnel, individuals who will be capable of ensuring the functioning of all services in the sphere of everyday life. Towards this end, the organized training of personnel based upon long-range plans, developed taking into account the requirements uncovered in each oblast, is considered advisable.

Taking into account the requirements of the modern rural areas, a change is needed in the practice of planning marketable goods for the rural areas. Here we have in mind those goods which satisfy both the material and spiritual needs of kolkhoz members.

The placing of agricultural production into a special sphere of social life in the rural areas and growth in the material well-being of kolkhoz families have had a decisive effect on reorganizing various aspects in the material organization of kolkhoz family life and they have served to raise their domestic conditions to the level of city-dwellers.

The changes taking place in the nourishment, clothing and home situation of a modern peasant are analyzed in the dissertation.

The food of kolkhoz members has changed substantially in terms of both the caloric content and the variety of products being consumed. The materials from a questionnaire interrogation conducted by the author for the

purpose of ascertaining the daily needs of kolkhoz members are examined in the chapter. The results of the interrogation revealed that only 1.3 percent of the kolkhoz members who filled out the questionnaire indicated a need for improving the food situation. But whereas the nourishment of kolkhoz members has truly changed considerably in terms of its character and continues to improve, the organization of such nourishment continues to be based mainly upon home cooking. In 1965, the expenditures for public catering, according to data obtained from a budgetary inspection carried out the kray statistical administration, amounted to 2.7 percent of the total amount of expenditures by kolkhoz families for food. Moreover, 96.8 percent of those who used the public catering facilities indicated that the dining hall was used by one member of the family and then only on an infrequent basis.

A comparison of housing conditions for kolkhoz members against those of peasant families in pre-revolutionary Stavropol Kray reveals that considerable progress has also been achieved in this important sphere of material life. An inspection of housing conditions for the residents of Grigoripolisskaya Station* and the village of Otkaznyy revealed that 94 percent of the families at the station and 97.9 of those in the village have their own homes or live in public facilities. According to data provided by the kray's statistical administration, in 1963 there was an average of 8.9 square meters of housing space for each member of a kolkhoz family in the kray. Over the past few years, the process of renovating the housing fund has been carried out in an active manner. In the village of Otkaznyy, 556 dwellings have been rebuilt anew and at Grigoripolisskaya Station--1,024. Throughout the kray as a whole, almost one half of the kolkhoz families have built new homes over the past 10 years. During this period of time, many kolkhoz members carried out capital repairs or modernized their dwellings.

The considerable changes taking place in the material organization of private family life in the peasantry does not signify however a solution for all of the problems in this important sphere of life for rural workers.

Relying upon data from the kray statistical administration and materials from his own studies, the author points out that a considerable portion of the kolkhoz peasantry still has housing space that is lower than the recommended norm and many kolkhoz members have homes with obsolete planning. Practically speaking, almost all of the dwellings lack municipal and everyday conveniences (central heating, sewerage system, water lines). The installation of gas facilities in the rural areas is also in the embryonic state. These are vital problems awaiting solutions.

The private plot economy exerts a conflicting influence on various aspects of modern peasant everyday life. For an extended period of time, it will continue to play a substantial role in supplying the kolkhoz families with food products and in providing additional income through the sale of surplus

* The Rossiya Kolkhoz in Novoaleksandrovskiy Rayon is located at Grigoripolisskaya Station.

agricultural products. At the same time, the management of a private plot absorbs a considerable portion of the non-working time of a kolkhoz member (specific data on expenditures of time for household labor within kolkhoz families is cited in the dissertation), actually lengthening his working day, increasing the expenditure of moral and physical effort and in this manner decreasing the possibility of realizing many of the spiritual needs of rural workers. The existence of private plots imposes a noticeable imprint on the dwellings of kolkhoz members.

At the conclusion of the chapter, when examining the prospects for developing the material well-being of the kolkhoz peasantry, the importance of raising the income level of kolkhoz families for the further development of private family and social life is substantiated.

Second chapter--"Growth in Spiritual and Cultural Needs in the Daily Life of Kolkhoz Members. The Forms and Degree for Satisfying Them" -- this chapter is dedicated to analyzing the spiritual aspects in the daily tenor of life of modern kolkhoz peasantry.

In the beginning of the chapter it is shown how, under the influence of the changes taking place in the kolkhoz villages, the process of recognition by the peasants of the need for intellectual improvement and mastering of various aspects of modern knowledge is accomplished. Of 410 kolkhoz members of the Rossiya artel who were asked the question "What would you like your children to be?", 97.4 percent responded that they would like their children to be persons of high moral quality, useful to society, industrious, honest, humble and, obviously, intelligent.

The extensive spread of general and professional-technical education among kolkhoz members has resulted in almost the complete elimination of families having illiterates in their structure. This is borne out by data (see Table 1) obtained by the author as a result of an extensive study of two kolkhoz villages in the kray (Grigoripolisskaya Station through an analysis of farm books and the village of Otkaznyy--based upon a questionnaire interrogation).

Direct familiarity with families which generally lack literates revealed that these families as a rule consist of spouses of advanced age.

Table 1

Distribution of Families By Presence of Literates in Their Structure
(in %)

	With Literates	No Literates
Grigoripolisskaya Station in Novoaleksandrovskiy Rayon (on 1 Jan 1964)	99.2	0.8
Otkaznyy Village in Sovetskii Rayon (on 1 Oct 1965)	96.8	3.2

The data on distribution of kolkhoz families depending upon the educational level of their members is of definite interest. Of 1,272 households in Otkaznyy Village, 237 have persons with higher, incomplete higher or secondary educations and in 417 households there are individuals with incomplete secondary educations. Thus, more than 50 percent of the kolkhoz households in Otkaznyy Village have persons possessing higher, secondary or incomplete secondary educations. This represents a great victory for the Soviet people, who carried out a cultural revolution in their country. In addition, it constitutes a most important condition for improving the spiritual outlook of a peasant family.

At the same time, almost 40 percent of the kolkhoz families in the village include persons having only an elementary education or barely literate persons and this has an opposite effect on various aspects of the daily spiritual life of these families.

A study of two kolkhoz villages in the kray confirms the existence of a definite number of illiterates among people 50 years or over in age. The author views as unsound the termination of work aimed at eliminating illiteracy among elderly unemployed kolkhoz members in the rural areas. The removal of this group of kolkhoz members from the work collectives, in addition to illiteracy, creates favorable soil for the retention in everyday life of remnants of the past, superstitions and ignorance. The negative value of these phenomena lies in the fact that a considerable portion of the children of kolkhoz members are placed under the care of many representatives of the older generation.

The household interrogation of residents of the villages studied revealed the degree and extent of the reading requirements of a modern kolkhoz member. Roughly 32.2 percent of the residents of Otkaznyy Village who were 16 years of age or older and 41.5 percent of the school children under 15 years of age indicated in their questionnaires that they constantly read fiction. Newspapers are read by 53.3 percent of the population who are 16 years or older in age and by 36.5 percent of the school children. A majority of the families subscribe to periodic publications. Of 1,272 households in a village, 964 are subscribers. Moreover, 33.6 percent of the families subscribe to 1 publication, 22.8 percent--2 publications, 10.9 percent--3 publications, 5.2 percent--4-5 publications and 4.2 percent--more than 5 publications.

A more thorough study of the reading interests of rural workers was carried out by means of careful analysis of the work of the Otkaznyy Village Library. The results of this analysis are set forth in the dissertation in the form of six tables. It turned out that all groups of the kolkhoz population maintain contacts with books. True, there are more readers among students than among the adult population and more among production workers than those who are unemployed or who work only on their own private plots. The trend towards a reduction in reading interest with an increase in age is quite obvious. Males read more than do females and persons having secondary or higher educations read more than those having incomplete secondary educations. At the same time,

all of the above read considerably more than persons having only an elementary education. The differences in reading interests however do not negate the fact that all of the principal categories of the kolkhoz population in the village continue to read books. This is an important indicator of the increasing level of daily spiritual requirements of the peasantry.

The attitudes being displayed in a modern kolkhoz family towards movies, the theatre, music and so forth also testify to the expansion taking place in the range of daily cultural-spiritual needs of peasants and to growth in their cognitive and artistic requirements. In the village of Otkaznyy, the number of families, the members of which display continuous interest in the art of movies, is 1,079, or 85 percent of the overall number of families residing in the village. Of the 854 families in this village that supplied answers to the question "What programs does your family like to watch?", 460 mentioned concerts and musical programs, while 246 others, in addition to concerts, mentioned feature films and performances. Contact with the arts and with various aspects of spiritual culture has become a requirement of an overwhelming majority of kolkhoz families.

In addition to quantitative changes in the structure and degree of spread of aesthetic requirements, qualitative changes are also pointed out in this chapter: the level of artistic requirements for kolkhoz members has increased considerably.

Thus the collective farms and socialist social relationships have become the foundation for change in both the material and spiritual life of kolkhoz members. The range of daily spiritual requirements for a peasant family has expanded immeasurably and it has overstepped the limits imposed earlier by a world of private farming, a monotonous type of work and antagonistic social relationships.

A study of the spiritual aspects of modern peasant everyday life reveals a trend towards drawing together the level of spiritual life of workers and kolkhoz members, the common nature of many of their cultural-domestic requirements and the methods for satisfying the latter.

In the opinion of the author, the existence of a certain difference in the nature and methods for utilizing free time, for relaxing and for enjoying entertainment is explained not by the absence of appropriate requirements but rather by considerably fewer opportunities which would allow the rural population to satisfy them.

During the years of Soviet rule, the network of cultural-educational institutes in the rural areas increased to a tremendous degree. Data is furnished in the dissertation on the number of schools, institutes, technical schools, libraries clubs, movie houses and so forth in the kray's rural areas. But even now there is still a considerable number of kolkhoz populated points which lack libraries, permanent movie houses, palaces of culture, sports installations, youth coffee houses and book stores.

The kolkhozes lack children's music schools, the requirement for which is unusually high. The disparity between the increasing daily spiritual needs and the opportunities for satisfying them is becoming even more considerable as a result of the low level of work being carried out by existing cultural institutions in the rural areas. It is by no means an accident that the party considers "comprehensive improvements in cultural services for the population, especially in the rural areas"* as a most important task for the five-year period that has just commenced.

A further condition for further spiritual improvements in kolkhoz members is that of regulating the working day and reducing the amount of non-working time spent carrying out household duties. Kolkhoz members view a shortage of time and cultural institutes as the chief factors preventing them from utilizing their free time in a sensible manner. Of 200 families of kolkhoz members at the Rossiya artel who furnished answers to the question "What is preventing you from spending your free time as you would like to?", 40.4 percent cited as problem No 1 a shortage of time, 20.3 percent--a shortage of appropriate cultural institutes, 15.2 percent replied that they could not cite any particular factor, 12.2 mentioned difficulties with material means, 3.5 percent--cited weariness following work and 8.4 percent--other reasons.

A study of the daily tenor of life of kolkhoz peasantry has shown that its spiritual side is influenced to a considerable degree by intra-class differences conditioned by the different types of work being performed by kolkhoz members. It turned out that kolkhoz families the members of which are skilled workers are more active readers at libraries and subscribers to newspapers and journals than are the families of kolkhoz members, the members of which perform unskilled labor. In the Otkaznyy Village Library, the most active readers among kolkhoz members are specialists and workers attached to the administrative staff, machine operators and livestock breeders. Of the overall number of kolkhoz members visiting the village's library, the above groups were represented as follows: 1st group--57.2 percent, second--42.4 percent and third group--34.2 percent. At the same time, the library was visited by only 19.5 percent of the kolkhoz members performing unskilled work in field plant husbandry and for the kolkhoz's service personnel the figure was even smaller--12.5 percent.

An analysis of the literature read in the library by various groups of the kolkhoz population reveals that the reading interests of skilled workers are much more extensive.

It is also interesting to note that religious attributes such as icons are frequently encountered in families the members of which perform low-skill or unskilled labor. According to data obtained through our study,

* "MATERIALY XXIII S'YEZDA KPSS [Materials of the 23rd CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1966, p 263

16.6 percent of the kolkhoz families in Shvedins Village headed by office workers or kolkhoz intelligentsia possessed icons and among families headed by field crop growers or service personnel--66.6 percent had icons.

The social and cultural conditions which have developed in the rural areas as a result of socialist changes have provided the basis for the dissemination and acceptance in the everyday life of peasants of new socialist holidays and ceremonies. A large amount of vital material is employed in the dissertation in order to reveal how the new socialist holidays and traditions have taken firm root in the daily life of kolkhoz members and also how the various holiday rituals have developed definite common and individual traits. At the same time, religious holidays are still being observed in many peasant families in addition to Soviet holidays and new socialist ceremonies, funerals are being carried out on a religious basis and some members of families are engaging in prayer and attending churches. According to data obtained from a study of three of the kray's villages, approximately one half of the peasant families are observing religious holidays. Although undergoing change and further adaptation, the religious traditions and customs continue to be observed in the everyday life of many peasants.

The need for the further introduction of and improvements in socialist ceremonies and holidays--a most important element of domestic relationships among people and a means for overcoming old religious customs and traditions--is validated in the dissertation. The author makes some practical recommendations in this regard.

In the third chapter--"A Change in the Nature of Relationships in Everyday Life and in the Family. The Approval of Socialist Norms and Customs in the Non-Productive Life of the Kolkhoz Peasantry"--the various aspects of family and everyday relationships among kolkhoz members are analyzed.

The forms for relationships and contacts among people in everyday life are unique and differ substantially from relationships in production activities. Labor and work relationships provide the foundation for collectives engaged in productive work. Domestic collectives are formed on the basis of family, kindred, friendly and other relationships. But despite the specific nature of domestic relationships, the general and typical features of a specific era and a given socio-economic formation are reflected in them just as in all other aspects of life.

The diverse phenomena of life in a modern kolkhoz village underscore the development of a completely new type of domestic relationship in the peasant environment, one which continues to develop and improve during the course of communist transformation of Soviet society.

A most important form of domestic contacts is that of family-marriage relationships.

A study of the motives for bringing about marriages, the age of those entering marriage and the nature of the social interrelationships of

the latter reveals that a decisive change has taken place in the very foundation for family-marriage relationships among kolkhoz members. They are released from private ownership interests and are presently experiencing the process of further democratization of them.

A typical characteristic of marriage unions under conditions involving class stratification in the pre-revolutionary countryside was the fact that marriages as a rule were concluded within a definite social group. On the basis of applications submitted to the ZAGA [civil registry office] by youths contemplating marriage, the author conducted a study of the marriage social relationships of all male and female kolkhoz members in one of the kray's rayons who entered marriage in 1964-1965. It turned out to be impossible to establish a strict social regularity in the formation of marriage unions. The destruction of class antagonism and the elimination of opposition between the city and countryside and between mental and physical labor served to remove the social and property barriers in the selection of spouses, which are so typical of antagonistic societies.

An analysis of ZAGA documentation for different years for four of the kray's largest kolkhoz rayons (Novoaleksandrovskiy, Petrovskiy, Arzgirskiy and Krasnogvardeyskiy) and also entries on marriages during pre-revolutionary times in church registries of births, deaths and marriages in these same rayons revealed a considerable increase in the average marriage age in the kolkhoz countryside. In the kray at the present time, the marriage age in rural and city areas has actually levelled off. Many studies reveal a trend towards a change in the average marriage age. Moreover, in those areas where in the past the age for entering into marriage was too early it is now being raised and where, owing to a number of socio-economic factors, it was very late, the age is now being lowered. The levelling off of the marriage age throughout the country, to the point where it closely approximates the average level, constitutes rather clear proof that "marriage has been transformed from an action that is dependent upon external factors and individuals into one that is voluntary and based upon personal selection in the union of a male and female."

Many other facts dealing with life in the socialist countryside serve to confirm the priority of moral motives over all others in the matter of peasant marriages: the changing role played by parents in arranging a marriage, the new nature and purpose of a dowry and the "shattering" of the old tradition which called for a bride to be delivered to the home of her new husband following the wedding. The question: "What do you consider to be the most important requirements for marriage?" was addressed to 535 kolkhoz members at the Rossiya artel. Approximately 85 percent of those who replied considered the principal condition for a happy marriage and a strong family to include mutual love, common spiritual interests, friendship, mutual respect between the spouses, joint work and so forth.

One important indicator for strengthening the foundation for socialist families in the countryside is development of the moral and spiritual aspects of the family cell.

The establishment of new features for family marriage contacts is being manifested in all aspects of family relationships among kolkhoz members. A peasant woman has been transformed from a subordinate and submissive agent for carrying out the will of a husband or father into an equal member of a family group. A striking change has taken place in the status of children. Today, in the fullest sense of the word, they are surrounded by concern on the part of the family and society. A peasant family focuses maximum attention on the upbringing of its children. At the present time, each kolkhoz family is spending a considerable amount of money from its budget as it strives to satisfy the material, spiritual and cultural needs of its children. Of 450 families with school children in the village of Otkaznyy, 313 of them subscribe to children's publications from the periodic press and fiction. Mutual respect and equality, fellowship and friendship have become the norm for relationships within a family group.

The changing nature of leadership in a kolkhoz family also testifies to the development of a democratic structure for it. True, distinct from modern city families, in many of which a head of family is not designated*, in kolkhoz families leadership is recognized as a rule. But its nature and meaning are different. At the present time, the head of the family can be any adult member regardless of age or sex. Of 2,350 families at Grigoripolisskaya Station, 1,637 or 69.7 percent are headed by men and 713 or 30.3 percent by women. Eighty percent of the families in the village of Otkaznyy are headed by men and the remaining families--by women. The heads of the families do not enjoy any special rights over and above those established for other members of the families.

Table 2 on following page

* Among city families studied by A. L. Pimenova, only 43 percent were viewed as having heads of families (see A. L. Peminova "Social Labor of Women Under Socialism and Intra-Family Equality." Synopsis of thesis. Dissertation. Leningrad, 1966, p 18.

Table 2

Distribution of Men and Women at Pobeda and Kaz'minskiy Kolkhozes According To Nature of Work Performed By Them

	Пол (1)	Специали- сты, адм- упр. персонал (2)	Механиза- торы (3)	Животно- воды (4)	Строители (5)	Полеводы (6)	Обслуж. персонал (7)	Итого (8)
Колхоз (9)	жен. (11)	1.7	0.3	15.3	0.8	80.9	0.5	100.0
„Казьминский“	муж. (12)	3.5	22.0	25.3	5.6	28.1	5.5	100.0
Колхоз (10)	жен. (11)	2.4	—	19.9	1.6	71.5	4.6	100.0
„Победа“	муж. (12)	0.5	31.7	23.9	7.2	23.6	4.1	100.0

Key:

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| 1. Sex | 7. Service personnel |
| 2. Specialists and administrative personnel | 8. Total |
| 3. Machine operators | 9. Kaz'minskiy Kolkhoz |
| 4. Livestock breeders | 10. Pobeda Kolkhoz |
| 5. Builders | 11. Women |
| 6. Field crop growers | 12. Men |

At the same time, a study of family-marital relationships has revealed that the further development of these relationships involves the overcoming of a number of objective contradictions. One of the more important contradictions and one which exerts a very noticeable and adverse effect on the nature of intra-family relationships is that which is associated with certain aspects of the actual status of female kolkhoz members. The need for the management of cumbersome private households in kolkhoz families, the existence in an overwhelming majority of them, as revealed by the study, of an old traditional distribution of household labor, wherein the principal portion of it is borne by the woman and also the sentiment among a portion of the population that a woman must first of all concern herself with her family and home, have produced a situation wherein women at the present time participate considerably less in social production and those who do participate possess lower professional skills and earn less. By way of confirming the above, data obtained by us from studies carried out at the Pobeda and Kaz'minskiy kolkhozes is cited in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 3 on following page

Table 3

Ratio of Wages of Spouses in Kolkhoz Families at Pobeda and Kaz-minskiy Kolkhozes

	Удельный вес семей (в %) в общем числе обследованных семей колхоза „Победа“ (1)	Удельный вес семей (в %) в общем числе обследованных семей к-за „Казьминский“ (2)
Заработок мужа выше зарботка жены (3)	91,2	80,7
в том числе в два и более раза (4)	62,7	56,6
Заработок мужа ра- вен зарботку жены (5)	1,9	4,9
Заработок жены выше зарботка мужа (6)	6,9	14,4

Key:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Proportion of families (in % compared to overall number of families studied at Pobeda Kolkhoz | 3. Earnings of husband higher than earnings of wife |
| 2. Proportion of families (in % compared to overall number of families studied at Kaz'minskiy Kolkhoz | 4. Including higher by a factor of two or more |
| | 5. Earnings of husband and wife equal |
| | 6. Earnings of wife higher than earnings of husband |

The employment of women for household work and for performing unskilled or low-skill work and the removal of many of them from active social activities reflects on the character of the domestic and intra-family relationships, since they create, as shown in the dissertation using specific study data, obstacles not only in the spiritual improvement of a female kolkhoz worker but also in overcoming the remnants of her economic inequality.

Table 4 on following page

Table 4

Numerical Composition of Families at Grigoripolisskaya Station (1964) and Otkaznyy Village (1965)*

Число членов семьи (1)	Число семей (2)		% от общего числа семей (5)	
	ст. Григорипо- лисская (3)	с. Отказное (4)	ст. Григорипо- лисская (3)	с. Отказное (4)
2	763	294	32,6	28,4
3	560	218	46,7	44,2
4	538	240		
5	308	183	13,1	17,8
6	121	65		
7	43	24		
8	11	3	7,6	9,6
9	4	2		
10	нет	нет		
11	нет	нет		
12	2	нет		
(6) Итого	2350	1034	100,0	100,0

Key:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. Number of family members | 5. Percent of overall number of families |
| 2. Number of families | |
| 3. Grigoripolisskaya Station | 6. Total |
| 4. Otkaznyy Village | |

The new socio-economic conditions in the countryside have brought about substantial changes in the size and structure of peasant families. In 1909, in the former Stavropol Province, one rural family on the average consisted of 7.2 individuals. According to our study, the picture with regard to the size of families at Grigoripolisskaya Station and Otkaznyy Village at the present time is as shown in Table 4.

A reduction in the size of a peasant family is associated first of all with a reduction in the number of children in the family. Statistical data is cited in the chapter which underscores a considerable reduction in recent decades in the birth rate in the countryside and an actual levelling off in the number of children in kolkhoz and workers' families throughout the kray. Factors are examined which, in the opinion of the author, are responsible for this decline in the birth rate in the rural areas.

* In addition to the 2,350 families at Grigoripolisskaya Station, there are 590 single persons and in Otkaznyy Village--1,034 families and 238 single persons. Their existence is associated mainly with the tremendous losses in the male population sustained during the Great Patriotic War, as borne out by the fact that 90 percent of the single persons are elderly women.

Secondly, a decline in the size of a modern kolkhoz family is associated with the breaking up of large "undivided" peasant families which existed in the past. Compared to the past when a typical family consisted of three or even four generations, today the kolkhoz families, in terms of the number of generations residing in them, are as shown in Table 5.

The economic independence of youth and their ability, under kolkhoz conditions, to provide for their own material and spiritual blessings, and also the new views of the soviet peasantry regarding marriage and the family have produced a situation in which the separation of youth and their developing families from their parents has become a typical phenomena in the rural areas.

It is revealed in the chapter that the process of territorial-domestic separation of adult children from their parents does not signify a weakening of parental relationships between parents and children or among the children themselves. An examination is provided of the specific relationships existing between them.

The new character of relationships between a family on the one hand and society or a collective on the other has become a typical feature in the everyday life of kolkhoz members

Earlier, family-parental relationships were for the most part considered to be the only possible basis for intimacy among people. Today, the range of family friends has expanded considerably owing to friendships developed through work, training and social activities. And quite often these friendly relationships, in terms of their importance, are in no way inferior to family-parental relationships. This is borne out by the responses given by 727 kolkhoz members at the Kolkhoz imeni V. I. Lenin to the questions "Is your family furnishing assistance to anybody?", "Is anybody providing assistance to your family in everyday life?" and "If assistance is being furnished, what is its specific nature?" It turned out that among kolkhoz members receiving assistance, 52.8 percent were receiving it from relatives, 42.5 percent--from comrades at work, 24.9--from neighbors and 14.6 percent--from friends*.

In analyzing the responses on the type of assistance furnished, it was explained that a peasant family obtains from its comrades at work, friends and neighbors diverse types of spiritual-psychological (assistance in studies, exchange of books, journals, support in the form of advice, recommendations and so forth) and administrative-economic support (assistance in the construction and repair of housing, in fuel procurements, managing of private plots, housing maintenance, care of children and so forth).

* Some indicated relatives and neighbors, neighbors and friends and so forth. Thus the overall percentage was somewhat greater than 100. This also explains the results realized from the data in the below-mentioned interrogation.

Table 5

Structure of Families At Grigoripolisskaya Station (1964) and Otkaznyy Village (1965) According To Number of Generations

	(1) Число семей		% от общего числа (4) семей	
	ст. Григори- полисская	с. Оtkазное	ст. Григори- полисская	с. Оtkазное
	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)
Семьи в одно поко- ление (5)	474	200	21,1	19,3
Семьи в два поко- ления (6)	1530	654	65,1	53,3
Семьи в три поко- ления (7)	343	178	14,7	17,2
Семьи в четыре по- коления (8)	3	2	0,1	0,2
Итого	2350	1034	100,0	100,0

Key:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------|
| 1. Number of families | 5. One generation families |
| 2. Grigoripolisskaya Station | 6. Two generation families |
| 3. Otkaznyy Village | 7. Three generation families |
| 4. Percentage of overall number
of families | 8. Four generation families |

There is a need for developing in the sphere of everyday life such conditions as equality, collectivism and collaboration, which appear in production life.

It has been shown in work that examples of comradely solidarity, friendliness and collectivism in the daily relationships of kolkhoz members are being encountered with each step taken. This includes public libraries, created on the basis of private book collections and new ceremonies and holidays dedicated to important dates in the life of a collective or its individual members and joint collective work by kolkhoz members in bringing about civic improvements, training children and maintaining public order. The birth and development of new collective forms of daily leisure also underscore the appearance of extensive comradely relationships in everyday life. For example, joint viewings of television programs have become very popular in the rural areas. In October 1965, 314 households in Otkaznyy Village had television sets. Of the 958 families which did not have sets, the members of 600 families indicated in their questionnaires that they viewed television programs as follows: 76.7 percent in neighbor's homes, 24.2 percent in the homes of relatives, 2.7 percent in friends' homes and 3 percent in the homes of work comrades.

General conclusions are drawn in the dissertation on the peculiarities associated with the new everyday life of kolkhoz members and some recommendations and proposals are expressed which were drawn from an analysis of the regularities concerned with the establishment and development of domestic relationships among the modern kolkhoz peasantry.

During the research process, the author carried out propaganda and organizational work in connection with implementing the recommendations which emerged as conclusions from the dissertation. The author repeatedly delivered lectures and led discussions among propagandists at seminars conducted by the CPSU Kray Committee. The materials of the dissertation were used in preparing for and conducting a seminar-conference for ideological workers and also for the aktiv of kray cultural workers. Over a period of 4 years, during the course of extended visits at kolkhozes selected as objects for direct study, the author furnished effective assistance in organizing leisure activities for the population, in introducing modern ceremonies and in developing measures for further improving the everyday living conditions for these villages.

The following works were published in accordance with the theme of the dissertation:

1. The chapter "For a New Everyday Life" in the book "Kolkhoz--shkola kommunizma dlya krest'yanstva" [Kolkhoz--A School for Communism for the Peasantry]. Moscow, 1965.
2. Section "For a New Communist Everyday Life" in the book "Kolkhoznoye celo shagayet v kommunizm" [A Kolkhoz Village Advances To Communism], Stavropol, 1964.
3. "Formation of a New Communist Everyday Life for a Peasant Family," "Theses and Reports of an Inter-VUZ Conference Dedicated To the Results of Scientific-Research Work by the Social Science Departments of VUZ's in Stavropol Kray During 1965-1963," Stavropol, 1964
4. "Establishment of New Traditions, Customs in the Everyday Life of the Kolkhoz Peasantry." "Theses and Reports of an Inter-VUZ Conference Dedicated To the Results of Scientific-Research Work by the Social Departments of VUZ's in Stavropol Kray in 1964," Stavropol, 1965.
5. "Some Data on the Prerequisites for the Formation of the Spiritual Requirements of a Modern Kolkhoz Family," "Theses and Reports of an Inter-VUZ Conference Dedicated to the Results of Scientific-Research Work by the Social Science Departments of FUZ's in Stavropol Kray in 1965." Stavropol, 1966.

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